

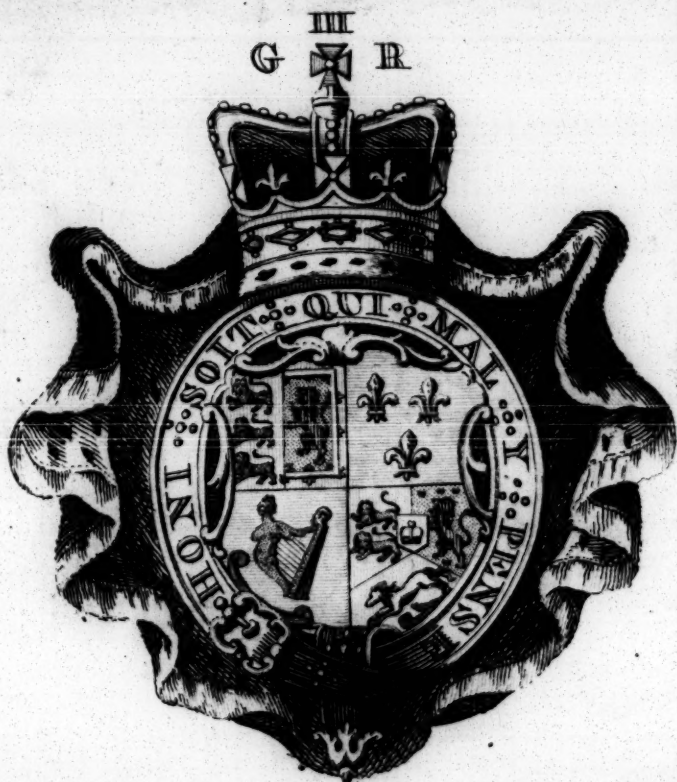
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A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
Liberty of the Subject
IN
GREAT BRITAIN.

A

DISSERTATION



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Most Humbly Inscribed to
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
FREDERICK-AUGUSTUS,
Prince of WALES, &c.

*Urbi Pater est, Urbique Maritus,
Justitiæ Cultor, rigidi Servator Honesti,
In Commune bonus.——* LUCAN.

L O N D O N:

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ON perusing the following Dissertation, the Reader will observe, that it is founded on the Practice now in Use, under the present Constitution of the British State, without entering into any Discussion, of how and when it was introduced and established; it not being intended to distract the Mind, by a tedious Search into the dark Records of Antiquity, or to puzzle the Understanding,
with

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with endeavouring to reconcile the various Relations of Historians, and the widely different Opinions of casuistical Writers; but only to promote Peace and good Neighbourhood, by explaining the Consequences which naturally flow from a strict Adherence to the unalterable Precepts of moral Virtue, in the Conduct of civil Society.



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A
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ON THE
Liberty of the Subject
IN
GREAT BRITAIN.



THE Word *Liberty*
is capable of con-
veying to the Mind
as many different
Ideas, as there are
Things in Nature unto which
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it can be applied; wherefore, to avoid Uncertainty and Confusion, in reasoning on so universal and extensive a Principle, it is to be remembered, that the Liberty here treated of, is relative only to that Freedom and Power of Action, which Men can be supposed to enjoy, under some certain regular Form of Civil Government.

Nature has, in some Degree, implanted in every Man, a self-interested Desire of enjoying Pleasure, Wealth, and Power: But we can have no Idea, or Conception of Civil Government, without implying an absolute Resignation, or rather Deprivation of all Liberty, to act and do Things,
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that are either inconsistent with the Safety and Prosperity of the whole Community, as a Body Politick, or which tend, in any Degree, to weaken and destroy it: And as the Safety and Prosperity of every Kingdom and Commonwealth, most evidently consists in a due Submission unto, and a strict Observance of the Laws enacted for that End, as well as a Connection and Dependance of the different Branches of the Constitution, with and upon each other; these must be carefully kept in View, as often as we attempt to make a true Judgment of the Subjects Liberty, which, under any Form of Government, may be called not only a Privilege, but a Right

to do any Act consistent with the Law of God, which cannot be construed to infringe the known Law of the Land, or otherways tend to the Hurt and Prejudice of the Society, as a Body Politick.

The Word *Subject* sufficiently denotes the Species of Liberty, which may be claimed under that Denomination; yet this must be distinguished from the additional, but legal Powers and Capacities, of such Subjects as happen to be invested with Offices, and intrusted with the Execution of particular Duties in the publick Administration of Government; which they do not exercise and perform as Acts of their own Will, but merely in Obedience
to

to the legislative Power, which in its Nature is absolute, and can admit of no Limitation or Controul.

Man, who by Nature is born equal and free, before he has cultivated with Art the Faculties of his Mind, must doubtless feel an Aversion within himself, to see any of his Fellow Creatures invested with an absolute and unlimited Power over his Life and Property ; and it is this uncorrected rude Principle, which is so apt among the Vulgar to stir up Sedition, and often Rebellion, when concealed by the pretended Humility of ill-designing Men, under a false Notion of Liberty.

Antiquity affords innumerable Instances of this Kind, in the various Forms of Government used amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*; in which Period of History, we cannot but observe, That, notwithstanding the boasted Freedom secured to any Society, by a Popular Government, or Commonwealth, yet, when either imminent Danger from Abroad, or the Growth of Faction at Home, induced the State to chuse a Dictator, or transfer the Legislative and Arbitrary Power into a few Hands, it still deviated into an absolute Monarchy, from whose Luxury and Licentiousness, first Poverty, and then Slavery, always ensued.

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To prevent such a fatal Catastrophe, the Authors, from Time to Time, of our present happy Constitution, in the Island of *Great-Britain*, have shewed great Depth of Thought and incomparable Skill, in forming that most beautiful Machine, which, in the Coalition of three different Estates and Conditions of Men, composes one united, arbitrary, and legislative Power, viz. The King, Lords, and Commons in Parliament.

It is a most remarkable, and happy Circumstance, in the Frame of this Government, that both the legislative and executive Power, being diffused into the Hands of many, of all Ranks, which, either by Election

Howling tion or Appointment from Time to Time, is continually shifting and routing amongst the People themselves, who, by this Means, are accustomed both to govern, and to be governed in their Turns; seldom any Hatred or Animosity arises on that Account; for every one feels the Conveniency of an orderly, mild, and decent Behaviour, while in Power, because what in that Respect is one Man's Lot to Day, may be another's To-morrow; so that Self-Interest, equally with Duty, obliges them to do as they would be done by.

The Administration of civil Justice is here distinguishable from that of all other Countries, and influenced with an unparalleled

paralleled Humanity; for even the guilty Wretch is not only secure from Torture, and every other Thing which can bear the least Resemblance of Slavery; but there is further a most admirable Provision made by the antient Constitution of this Kingdom, to prevent the ill Effects, and terrible Consequences of those human Passions, Mistakes, and Prejudices, which appear so frequently elsewhere on the Bench of Justice.

In *England*, it is not so much as permitted to whisper Scandal, or attack any Man's Honesty and Reputation at Random; and let the Proofs be ever so strong, that a Crime has actually been committed, a Bill

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or Information must be first laid before an Inquest of creditable Men, called a *Grand Jury*, representing the County; who, upon their Oaths, must find, that there are just Grounds for a legal Prosecution, before the Party can be arraigned; nor has any Court of Justice Power to take Cognizance of, or give Judgment in, any ~~criminal~~ Matter, excepting such only as are by Inquest of the Grand Jury, presented to the Court as true Bills: But to convict a Person of any Crime or Iniquity, which may affect either his Life, Liberty, or Estate, Proof thereof must be first made in open Court, to the unanimous Satisfaction of twelve indifferent Men, of unexceptionable Credit
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in the Neighbourhood where the Fact is alledged to have been committed, or where the Subject in Question lies, called a *Petty Jury*, who make Enquiry, upon their Oaths, of every particular Circumstance, and are obliged to return a distinct Verdict of the Matter into Court, before any Sentence can be pronounced, or Punishment inflicted.

It is from this singular Privilege, that the Liberty of the Subject in *England*, is to be distinguished from that of all other Nations; for without supposing so great a Number as twelve of our most indifferent Neighbours and Equals, to be partially influenced in their unanimous Judgment against us,

it is not in the Power of any Man, not even the greatest in the Kingdom, to oppress one single Individual, by wrongfully affecting either his Life, Liberty, or Estate.

It may reasonably be supposed, that this honourable and important Service upon Juries, in order to dispense Justice between Man and Man, as well as to the Publick, and on which all Degrees and Conditions of Men, amongst the Commons, are continually employed in their Turns, begets a Kind of Habit in the Minds of the whole People, of easily distinguishing between Right and Wrong, on every common Occasion ; which of Course must divert them from doing Things
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that they know will unavoidably expose them to the Indignation, Scorn, and Censure of their Neighbours and Acquaintance: And, if we add to this Consideration, the Honour it confers, as well as the Pleasure it must give to the Man, who tho' otherwise in mean Circumstances, yet finds that an Integrity of Character and Reputation amongst his Neighbours, is capable of rendering him daily useful in carrying on the most important Business of the Commonwealth, *viz.* that of doing material Justice indifferently, between the Great and Small, Rich and Poor; it must leave such a Tincture of Worth and Virtue amongst the Generality of the People, as cannot fail to appear in their most frequent

frequent Transactions and Affairs of Life : A Badge of Liberty, which tho' at present to be found no where out of *Great Britain*, yet is impressed with the true Image of that lovely Goddess we so much adore.

The next Thing which strikes our View in this Country of Liberty, is that artificial Spring which unites the Three Great, but independant Powers, that compose the Legislative Body, viz. the King, absolute in his executive Capacity ; the Lords, final in their judicial ; and the Commons, unlimited in their Power of enriching and supporting the other two ; all Three equally necessary to enact, and give the Laws a proper Sanction,

tion ; but likewise equally subject to them, when enacted, with the whole Body of the People under their Jurisdiction.

The Dangers and Evils which Mankind are preserved from, and the innumerable Advantages which they receive by civil Government, when collected together, are understood by the Term *Publick Good*, of any Society or Commonweal; which is of so different a Nature from the selfish Profit, or private Good, that Individuals may be supposed to hunt after, exclusive of the Publick, that they are most frequently inconsistent, and incompatible with each other ; inso-much, that he who thinks fit to demonstrate, by any Part of his Conduct, that he prefers his own
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private Advantage to the publick, does thereby, as much as possible, render himself unworthy at least, I wish I could say uncapable, of being a Member of the Legislature, or of being intrusted with any Share of the executive Power: For to be qualified to rule and govern in Society, implies not only a Disposition, but a strong Desire to execute and fulfil the just Ends of Government, without which there can be no Union amongst the Parts, whereby Discord, and, in Process of Time, a Dissolution, must follow.

Publick Good, therefore, being the only Principle which can effectually unite the three great and independant Parts of
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the Legislature in *Great Britain*, and seeing this publick Good is to be discovered, and ascertained by the Application and Judgment of above 700 Persons of different Ranks, and in different Capacities, who are all in their just Proportions equally interested as private Subjects therein, how great is the Security to the Body of the People, that the Voice and Sentiments of such a Legislature, will more certainly terminate in the Good of the Publick, than those of any lesser Number of private Men, who are not called by their Country to that Service, and whose Opinions therefore, impartially speaking, cannot be supposed

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to carry an equal Weight along with them !

That human Judgment is weak and fallible, or that Mens Minds are continually liable to be corrupted in some Shape or other; whereby even such a Legislative Body, as is above described, may be mistaken or misled, is undeniable: But as that is an Argument which equally concludes against all Kinds and Forms of Government in Being, it cannot be admitted as an Objection to the particular Frame of the *British* Constitution, which we only say is, with Respect to Liberty, preferable to any other hitherto invented and practised in the World ; because the free Enjoyment of the Subject's natural and acquired Rights,

Rights, which we call Liberty, is secured to every Individual, on the same equal Terms and Conditions, without any Distinction or Partiality whatsoever.

Could Men be contented under such a Government, to act every one as became them, in their proper Sphere; those who were truly qualified to fill the highest Stations, and found themselves invested with great Power, would disdain to pervert the equitable Intention of the Laws, by influencing the Passions, and debauching the Minds of the Legislators, to act on private Views, inconsistently with the Honour and Interest of their Country, which, on all Occasions, is to

be discovered by a simple, but invariable Way of thinking, that obtrudes itself into every Breast, which is not already tainted with Prejudice or Vice.

An uniform, virtuous, and steady Administration, wants no secret Arts to support its lawful Authority, but will daily gain Esteem in the Hearts and Affections of the People; because it acts on first Principles, and such undeniable Maxims of true Policy, as exclude the very Idea of a Party; and there is nothing more obvious in History, than that wheresoever Parties have been introduced into the Management and Conduct of civil Government, it has polluted the Minds, and corrupted the Morals of the People,

People, to such a Degree, as seldom, or never failed, to end in the total Subversion of the Constitution.

On the other hand, where any private Man in *Great Britain*, out of an unbiaſſed and ſincere Concern for the publick Good, thinks he is able to ſupport, with ſufficient Evidence, a material and judicious Complaint, againſt the Conduct of any publick Officer; or if he has any reaſonable Propoſition to make, for ſome Alteration in, or Amendment of the Law, or of the very Frame and Conſtitution of the Government itſelf; there are ſo many Ways of Application to the Judgment of the Legiſlature, by any one or two of the Members which
 compoſe

compose that numerous Body, that no Person or Persons, of what Rank and Degree soever, can be at a Loss, either by themselves or their Friends, to make their humble Address, unto the whole, or any Part of the supreme Power; that being the Birth-right of every Subject, as often as Occasion may require: But instead of this legal, safe, and just Way of proceeding, To deliver and enforce our conceived Opinions of the publick Good, by publishing anonymous Libels, and seditious Pamphlets, stuffed only with satirical Wit, on the Characters of those particular Persons who happen to be in Power, and intrusted with the chief Administration, is a monstrous Abuse

Abuse of the true Sense and Meaning of the Word *Liberty*, which always implies an open, fair, and justifiable Act.

It is not only the Right, but the Duty of a *British* Subject, to oblige every one, with whom he has any Dealing, to act upon the Square, and in Conformity to the Laws, which have no Respect of Persons: But clandestinely to ridicule the Legislators, and treat with Contempt those Persons who happen to be invested with the executive Power, is a Liberty which no reasonable Man can claim, nor any civilized and wise Government will bear.

The just, the brave, and free-born *Briton*, contentedly enjoys what he has, without
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the least Apprehension of being injured or insulted by his Neighbour, how great and powerful soever he may be : He pays a decent and dutiful Respect to his Superiors, according to their Rank, and treats his Equals in the same kindly Manner, he would chuse in the like Circumstances to be treated by them : He considers himself as a Child of the Commonwealth, and measures both his own and other People's Merit, according to their Capacity and Diligence in serving and promoting the publick Good : He sympathizes with the honest, poor, industrious Man, but scorns to envy the Riches and gawdy Indolence of the Great : In short, he thinks, he sees, and feels himself

himself to be without arbitrary Restraint, and free to possess every Enjoyment in Life, which is consistent with the Peace, Safety, and Prosperity of his Country.

Thus far having spoken of that Liberty, which, in *Great Britain*, is enjoyed by every Subject, without Distinction; we shall next proceed to consider the Nature of that adventitious Power or Liberty, conferred by Law, on those who happen to be intrusted with any Share of the legislative or executive Power.

Every just and upright Man, who accepts of, and is employed in any Office of publick Trust, will, from the Nature of the Thing, consider himself as under an absolute Restraint from using

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the Power conferred upon him, to any other Purpose, than that of securing and promoting the publick Good, as it is distinguished from selfish and private Gain: So whither a Man be born to that hereditary Honour, which gives him a Right to sit and vote in the upper House of Parliament, or that the Virtue and Humanity of his Conduct in private Life, has made it the People's Choice to confer that Privilege on him in the lower House; he is equally bound to act, in the Capacity of a Legislator, as a Father of his Country, with great Temper and Deliberation, without suffering Passion, Prejudice, Self-Interest, or any private Resentment to influence his Opinion and Judgment of those

those Things which concern the publick Good and Welfare of the Nation ; if he does but remember to keep that great End in View, for which he was invested with such a singular Privilege and Power, he cannot err by deviating from what his Judgment informs him to be his bounden Duty, without committing a Rape on the Conviction of his own Mind, and thereby disqualifying himself from sustaining the Honour of so great a Character and Trust in the publick Service.

A Legislator is the highest, and most sublime Character, that human Nature can be clothed with; representing to us in Miniature, by the quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of our Properties,

ties, and the Multitude of other Advantages, which flow from a well-governed Society, that impartial Beneficence and diffusive Bounty, which the great Author of Nature is daily and liberally bestowing, with an indifferent Hand, on all who are under his Inspection, from the smallest Insect, to the Prince on his Throne.

How amiable does this Character appear, when justly fulfilled, and how much adapted to draw the Affections, as well as Respect of Mankind! Yet, as Power, which implies a Liberty of acting as we will, not only loses its Acrimony, but shines with an agreeable Lustre, in the Breast of a just and good Man, so it becomes black and
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odious, when tinged with a vicious Pride, and the Gall of Oppression; To avoid which, as much as the Situation of human Affairs will permit, the *British* Constitution has wisely lodged the Legislative Power in many Hands, and guarded their Method of proceeding with such elegant Forms, as that it is morally impossible, for such a Body to be blinded with Ignorance, or artificially imposed on: Their Votes and Proceedings are not only published from Day to Day by Authority, but they oblige themselves to act with so much Deliberation, and in so many different Capacities, that they cannot be surprized into any Measure or Resolution, without
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its having been first maturely weighed, by every Part and Member of their own Body, as well as known unto, and considered by those whom they represent. And although the Liberty and Power of any Member of a *British* Parliament, with respect to his speaking in the House, and voting as his own Judgment directs him, for the publick Good, may be said to be unlimited ; yet the ill Consequence of his speaking or acting with Passion and Prejudice, or any other Weakness incident to human Nature, is sure to be prevented, and the Error timely corrected, by the Wisdom and Prudence of so great an Assembly,

bly, indued both with Learning and Experience.

The Variety of Knowledge to be found in such a Body of Men, whose liberal Education (it may be supposed) has improved their natural Talents for all Kind of Business, to the highest Pitch, must render the Duty of the several Magistrates, appointed to put the Laws in Execution, both plain and easy to all concerned; for there is this material Difference between the Duty of a Legislator, and that of an executive Magistrate; that the One judges of the Matter before him, without any Limitation or Restraint on his Will, guided by the Light of his own Understanding and Apprehension;

sion ; whereas the Other is tied down, and confined to act only as he is directed by the Letter, and true Meaning of the written Law before him. Again, the First is accountable to God and his own Conscience, how far his Actions are equitable and just in themselves : But the Second, being the mere Executor of the First's Judgment and Intention, he acts blindly in Obedience to him, and cannot therefore be accountable for any more than a punctual Execution of what has been already ordained and enacted by the other.

In the present Constitution of *Great Britain*, the King is not only to be considered as the first essential, independant, and con-

constitutive third Part of the Legislature, but likewise as the sole Fountain of all executive Power in the State, and in whose Name only Justice, in all its Parts, is to be administered.

Thus the King of *Great Britain*, in his legislative Capacity, is limited and restrained from acting without the Concurrence of both Houses of Parliament ; and therefore a wise Prince will make use of that one Circumstance, in the Nature of his Office, to throw off from his own Shoulders the invidious Charge of contriving or framing the needful Severities inflicted by penal Laws, and every other Act of the legislative Body which may

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tend to four the Minds of the Vulgar, and render a Prince unpopular: For the King's bare Assent to those Acts which have been deliberately composed by the concurring Sentiments of two distinct and independant Houses of Parliament, can never be construed to proceed from the particular Inclination of his arbitrary Will, but rather from the natural Goodness and Humanity of his Disposition, which will always lead him to have an entire Dependance on the Opinion and Judgment of his Parliament, as unquestionably they are, in their legislative Capacity, the best Judges of whatever relates to the publick Good.

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All popular Assemblies, especially when they are invested with a great and independant Power, have a natural Averfion to be dictated to, and forcibly led into any Thing, but what first arifes, or is propofed amongst themfelves. And the Prudence, which is to be acquired from a little Obfervation and Experience, will often instruct a *British* King to conceal his Thoughts and Anxiety, about many Things relating to the publick Good, until these Things, by a political Conduct, are first moved in one or other of the Houfes of Parliament, and come from thence to be asked of the Prince as a Favour.

With what Safety, Ease, and Contentment then, does a King of *Great Britain* act in his legislative Capacity, when he is sure to receive the Honour and Applause due to him, for every good and wholesome Law that is passed, without being chargeable with the disagreeable Effects, and unacceptable Consequences of any bad one: And how much more eligible is such a Situation, to a virtuous and good Prince, than those irksome Cares, and painful Remorses, which surround the Throne of an absolute and unlimited Power.

But to view the *British* Monarch in his proper Grandeur, let us consider him as Guardian and sole Executor of the Laws
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and Ordinances of the Commonwealth; in which Capacity he is continually acting, without Limitation or Controul.

All Officers, both civil and military, of whatsoever Rank or Degree, derive their Authority, and receive their Commissions, either from the King himself, or from such as are deputed by his Majesty to appoint them; and although these Commissions generally run in the Stile of the King's Will and Pleasure, yet all of them referring to the Execution of some Part of the Law, it is virtually understood, that the King does not, nor cannot, will or command any thing contrary thereunto; which is a plain Direction to the Officer

cer and executive Magistrate, to examine well, and have a Regard to the known Laws of the Land, in the Discharge of his Office and Duty, since, by acting contrary unto, or inconsistent with that, he must be understood to disobey the Will and Pleasure of the King, and thereby subject himself to the Penalty inflicted on such as act without Authority, and against Law. Thus we find, that the Will of the Prince, and the Execution of the Intent and Meaning of the Law, are in a legal Sense synonymous Expressions; than which nothing can give a more rational Idea, and a fuller Conception of the Power lodged with the King, and of the Safety and Security enjoyed

enjoyed at the same Time by the People.

When a King of *Great Britain* is truly a Lover of Virtue, and indued with a moderate Share of good natural Understanding, together with a prudent Command of his Passions, he will avoid the Trouble, as well as Danger, in all Cases of Difficulty, of relying too much on the single Advice of Ministers and Favourites: For although the Houses of Parliament, as Legislators, have no Right by the Constitution, to any Privilege of controuling the King, by interfering with his Conduct or Management of the executive Power; yet, when the Conjunction is intricate, and the Opinions of his Ministers

ters and Privy-Counsellors are divided, or when the publick Tranquility happens to be threatened with an Invasion, Conspiracy, or other dangerous and doubtful Event, then it is highly commendable and safe for the Prince to throw himself into the Arms of his Parliament, by frankly asking their Advice, and chearfully following those Measures, which they shall think proper to recommend.

A King who has the Heart formed, and a Resolution sufficient, to act after this Manner, would be the Darling of his People, and could never be suspected of being partially influenced, by secret or bad Counsel, because such frequent and
open

open Declarations of his pure Intention to execute the king-ly Office, agreeably to the Sentiments of his Parliament, would both secure to him the cordial Affections of the People, and all other Things needful to support the Honour and Dignity of his Crown.

Such a Prince would have no Occasion to squander away Money upon Elections, or of influencing, in any Sort, the Members of Parliament to deviate from their own genuine Sense of the publick Good, and Interest of their Country: He would have nothing to ask or expect from any of them, that did not perfectly correspond with their Duty to the People whom they

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represent ; in whose Ease, Prosperity, and Happiness, he would always place his greatest Pleasure and Satisfaction. There would be no Emulation between such a King, his Parliament, and his Ministers, but who should be most forward to propose, and diligent to carry into Execution, the proper Measures for extending Commerce, protecting of Trade, in all its useful Branches, and thereby enriching the whole Body, and strengthening the Sinews of the Commonwealth: For could the important Business of the State be but effectually and well done, it would produce such an universal Satisfaction and Contentment, as must infallibly destroy the remaining
Seeds

Seeds of Faction and Discord ;
Weeds that never thrive, but
under the Losses and Misfor-
tunes which are brought upon
a People by Luxury and Indo-
lence, or some reigning vicious
Quality in their Governors.

The Riches and Prosperity
of a Nation, is the only Foun-
dation on which a wise Prince
will chuse to build his Power,
and the Glory of his Reign ;
and it is from the Condition of
the publick Treasure, and not
his own private Estate, that he
he is to compute his Riches ;
for a King of *Great Britain*,
who truly enjoys the Love
and Affections of his People,
has much less Occasion than
any other Prince in the
World, to hoard up a Stock

of private Wealth, because his Family, in all Respects, become the publick Care ; so that Self-Interest, joined to a respectful Gratitude, will ever oblige a House of Commons to provide handsomely for the Children, and every other needful Expence of the Royal Family. And if such a King, in the Course of his Conduct, evidently treats all his People with the Tenderness of a Parent, preferring their Good to every Thing which immediately relates to Himself, his Children, or his Servants ; it is but highly just, in return for a Life of Care so spent, that not only Necessaries and common Conveniences be provided for by the Publick,

Publick, but even that all Kinds of Affluence, and a decent Grandeur, should appear about the Throne of so beneficent, so generous, and so good a Prince; And, indeed, a Neglect of this important Article, cannot well be supposed, because it would reflect Dishonour upon the People's Representatives, and blush in the Face of every Man who had the Happiness to partake of, and feel the innumerable Blessings that would be continually flowing from so just and perfect an Administration of Government.

The Influence, which is to be acquired over the Minds of Men, by the humane Conduct of a good Prince, and many repeated Acts of Tenderneſs
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and Affection towards his People, will give a more grateful Relish to the Cares and Fatigues of Government, and are infinitely more to be relied on, than a military Force, or the Exercise of any Power, which, on Enquiry, will appear to be unnatural, and therefore must ever carry along with it the secret Sting of Oppression: For we may learn from History, as well as from the Nature of the Thing, that a People who are born under a free Government, and brought up from their Infancy with strong Notions of Liberty, can only be subdued, and kept in Order, by a just, mild, and affectionate Conduct in their Governors; so that it will be true Policy, in a King of *Great Britain*, so to
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act in every Part of his Administration, as to triumph in the Hearts of his Subjects, and glory in receiving ten Times more Power, Riches, and Grandeur, from the benevolent free Choice and Gift of the People, than any of his Predecessors could ever obtain by their Claim to an arbitrary Regal Power and Prerogative.

The Original of Power in Government, has been so much controverted, and has produced such Convulsions to embroil the weak imperfect State of human Society, in most Ages of the World, that though we chuse to avoid entering into any particular Explanation on so delicate a Subject, yet we cannot but observe, both from sacred and profane History, that the ambitious

tious Tyrant, or Enthusiaſt, never fails to derive his arbitrary deſpotick Power from ſome divine Original, and ſupernatural Gift; as on the other Hand, the factious Leader of every ſucceſſful Revolution in any State, is ſure to attribute his Proſperity to the Influence of Heaven, and the particular Diſpenſation of Providence. Thus the ſupreme Being, and ever-benevolent Fountain of all Goodneſs, is frequently, and moſt impiouſly, charged with being the Author of all the Wickedneſs which is continually flowing from the depraved Wills, and moſt ungovernable Paſſions, of ambitious Men: But the true Chriſtian Hero, who judges of, and governs his own, as well as the

the Actions of other Men, by the unalterable Precepts and plain Rules of moral Virtue, can make no other Use of civil Power in Government, than to promote the Good of Mankind in general, and the particular Happiness of that Society, over which he is placed. Such is the Prince who can reconcile the chearful Smiles of sweet Liberty, to the awful Countenance of her Sister Justice; and such a King, on the *British* Throne, can never be led, or persuaded into any Measures of State, but what are truly conducive to the Safety and Interest of the Publick, and such as will not only correspond with the Sentiments of a free Representative in Parliament,

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but will likewise be agreeably received by the Generality of the People.

These are the Steps, by which a *British* King may, as it were, insensibly raise his Power, to such a Degree, as that his People, and their Representatives, neither could, nor would refuse him any Thing, which his generous and disinterested Ambition, guided by so much Humanity, could expect: Their mutual Desires to make each other happy, would elevate the Power and Dignity of the Commonwealth, to the highest Pitch: The Friendship of such a State, would be no less honoured and esteemed, than their Enmity would be feared and dreaded by
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all their Neighbours ; even the remotest Nations would court the Alliance of a People, whose Averſion to all Kinds of Injuſtice, was ſo remarkable, that their Judgment would be ſufficient to ſettle, on the moſt equitable Foundations, the Rights of Mankind.

This ſeems to be the Country, and this the Form of that Government, of which Liberty makes her Choice : For tho' ſhe abhors Wickedneſs, and takes the greateſt Pleaſure in doing all Kind of Good ; yet ſhe is virtuous out of the pure Inclination of her own Will, and has, in her very Nature, the utmoſt Averſion to all Sort of Compulſion ; ſhe is a Lady of the firmeſt Reſolution and Cou-

rage; but yet of so soft a Mould, as always to be gained by Truth, when attended with a Sympathy of Affections; she may justly be considered as a watchful Guardian over the Rights and Properties of Mankind, the meanest whereof she never will agree to part with, on any other Consideration but the publick Good of Society, and not even then, without the free Consent and Good-Will of those to whom they properly belong; viz. either the Parties themselves, or such as they have voluntarily deputed to dispose of them for the publick Service.

To maintain and defend Liberty therefore in our Country, or to protect and advance the

the publick Good of the Society, unto which we belong, are convertible Terms, and mean the very same Thing; from whence it may, by a just and consequential Way of Reasoning, be demonstrated, that every Attempt to incroach upon, weaken, or destroy, those Rights and Privileges, which essentially belong to each of the three constitutive Parts of the Legislature in *Great Britain*, is an Attack upon the Rights and Liberties of the whole Body of the People ; which, by the peculiar Frame of such a Government, depend on the Balance and Equilibrium which is to be carefully preserved between these three powerful but independant Branches of the
Constitution

Constitution: By all which, it is plainly to be understood, that he, who, by any Colour of Reasoning or Pretext whatsoever, does either attempt to take away, and render useless, any of the Rights of the Crown, and of the known Privileges appertaining to either House of Parliament; or who, on the other hand, ascribes unto, and endeavours to invest any of the said three independant Branches, with more Power than of Right belongs to it, is thereby guilty of sapping the very Foundations of the Government, and of subverting, as much as in him lies, the Rights and Liberties of the People of *Great Britain*.

What

What pure Loyalty then, inflamed with Gratitude and Affection, may not we suppose to flow from the Hearts of *Britons* towards a King, whose natural Goodness, and penetrating Judgment, would lead him to hold the Reins of Government, with such an equal and steady Hand, as neither himself to incroach on the Rights and Privileges, appertaining by Law and Custom to his Subjects, nor suffer any of them to break in upon his legal and just Authority in the State, which he was continually and impartially exercising, for the common Safety and Advantage of all his People.

A virtuous Conduct in all the Parts of a social Life, together
with

with a distinguished Probity,
 and an approved Affection and
 Concern for the publick Good,
 would be the only Means of
 effectually recommending One's
 self to the Smiles and Favour
 of so worthy a Prince, whose
 Frowns or Neglect would be
 felt and regarded as a severe but
 just Punishment, on those who
 had incurred his Displeasure,
 by acting contrary unto, or in-
 consistent with the Honour and
 Interest of their Country: For
 the Voice of the People would
 generally approve and follow
 the apparent Inclination and
 Judgment of a Prince, whom
 they had, on all Occasions, ob-
 served to act, in his high Station,
 with great Justice and Equality
 of

of Mind, as well as Candour
and Moderation.

So illustrious an Example of
Virtue and Humanity from the
Throne, could not fail to have
a proportionable and due In-
fluence on all Ranks and Con-
ditions of Men, by encouraging
some, and discouraging others,
according to their Worth or
Demerit: And it would be
the necessary and inavoidable
Consequence of such an Har-
mony in the Conduct of a *Brit-
tish* King and his Parliament,
to make the People of this
Island as happy at Home, and
glorious Abroad, as the Situa-
tion of human Affairs will ad-
mit of.

F I N I S.

of Mind, as well as Candour
 and Moderation.
 Be illustrious an Example of
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 fluence on all Ranks and Con-
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 Demerit: And it would be
 the necessity and inevitable
 Consequence of such an In-
 fluence in the Conduct of a Monarch
 as King and his Parliament
 to make the People of this
 Island as happy as France, and
 glorious Abroad, as the Vir-
 tue of human Affairs will ad-
 mit of.



F Y M I S

